

List of interviews

All individuals listed below consented to interviews about the sensitive topic of state–business relations. Given the nature of the topic, I withhold names when citing interviews in the text and refer instead to the position (official, business leader, politician, party leader, etc.) of the individual being quoted. In a few instances I have attributed comments to individuals with their permission.

Dimitar Abadjiev, MP, vice-chairman, Committee on Foreign Policy, Defense and Security, Sofia, June 2003.

Mieczyslaw Bak, Institute for the Study of Democracy and Private Enterprise, National Chamber of Commerce, Warsaw, June 2011.

Ryszard Bankowicz, general director, Polish Business Roundtable, Warsaw, July 2001.

Cristine Barbu, Tax Advisory Program assistant, Ministry of Finance, Bucharest, June 2003.

Gigi Becali, entrepreneur, owner of FC Steaua, and chairman of the New Generation Party, Bucharest, June 2004.

Maxim Behar, chairman, Bulgarian Business Leaders Forum, Sofia, June 2003.

Alicja Beras, head specialist, Polish Ministry of Treasury, Warsaw, February 2001.

Andrzej Bratkowski, Centrum Analiz Społeczno-Ekonomicznych (Center for Social and Economic Research), Warsaw, June 2000.

Guy Burrow, general manager, CEC Government Relations, Bucharest, May 2003.

Cristian Butuman, manager, industrial policy, delegation of the European Commission in Romania, Bucharest, June 2003.

Gabriel Calinescu, general secretary, New Generation Party – Christian Democratic, Bucharest, June 2004.

Marian Chichosz, director, Polish National Audit Office, May 2001.

Eugenia Liliana Constantinescu, vice-president, New Generation Party, Bucharest, July 2004.

- Kazimirz Cwalina, head of Department of Economic Strategy, Ministry of Economy, Warsaw, July 2001.
- Dariusz Czerniak, director, Greenbriar Poland, Warsaw, August 2001.
- Bożena Czyżkowska-Majak, advisor to the minister, Ministry of Treasury, Warsaw, June 2001.
- Marek Dąbrowski, Centrum Analiz Społeczno-Ekonomicznych, Warsaw, May 2000.
- Alexander Dimitrov, economic analyst, Bulgarian Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Sofia, June 2003.
- Tatiana Doncheva, MP, Bulgarian Socialist Party, Sofia, June 2003.
- Stelian Dorobantu, general manager, General Confederation of Industrial Employers UGIR-1903, Bucharest, June 2003.
- Bożena Dyjak, head of oversight, Ministry of Treasury, Warsaw, February 2001.
- Mike Farnworth, director, National Democratic Institute, Sofia, June 2003.
- Michał Fedorowicz, Institute of Philosophy and Sociology, Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw, June 2000.
- William Furman, CEO, Greenbriar Inc., New York, September 2001.
- Zofia Gaber, president of the Supervisory Board, Agros Holding, Warsaw, May 2001.
- Juliusz Gardawski, Sociology Department, Warsaw School of Economics, Warsaw, June 2000.
- Borislav Georgiev, Bulgarian Industrial Association, Sofia, June 2001.
- Dariusz Grabowski, Coalicja dla Polski, Warsaw, May 2001.
- Aleksander Gudźowaty, president, Bartimex, Warsaw, May 2001.
- Adriana Halpert, editor, *Capital Weekly* magazine, Bucharest, June 2004.
- Robert Hofnar, advisor, Ministry of Finance, Bucharest, June 2003.
- Alina Hussein, advisor to the president, National Audit Office, Warsaw, February 2001.
- Sorin Ionita, Romanian Academic Society, Bucharest, June 2003.
- Tudor Irimescu, deputy general director of industrial policy, Ministry of Industry and Resources, Bucharest, May 2003.
- Beata Jarosz, press secretary, Ministry of Treasury, Warsaw, February 2001.
- Krzysztof Jasiński, Institute of Political Studies, Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw, 2000–2001.
- Grażyna Jaskula-Pereta, vice-president and general director, Business Centre Club, Warsaw, July 2001.
- Ivailo Kalfin, economic advisor to the president, Sofia, June 2004.
- Antoni Kamiński, Transparency International, Warsaw, October 2000.
- Nikolai Kamov, MP and chairman, Social Democratic Movement, Sofia, June 2003.
- Joanna Karman, director, Oversight of PKO BP, Ministry of Treasury, Warsaw, February 2001.
- Urzula Karpinska, deputy director, Polish Confederation of Private Employers, Warsaw, July 2001.

- Aleksander Kashukeev, chairman, Metalsnab Holding, Sofia, June 2003.
Krszysztof Kelian, former telecommunications minister (1992–1993), Warsaw, May 2000.
Jacek Kolaskinski, director, International Affairs Division, National Audit Office, Warsaw, July 2001.
Grażyna Kopińska, director, Anti-Corruption Program, Batory Foundation, Warsaw, December 2000.
Emil Koshlukov, chairman of the Committee on Civil Society Affairs and MP, National Movement of Simeon II, Sofia, September 2003.
Ivan Kostov, former prime minister, Sofia, June 2003.
Iwona Kubik, Department of Economic Development, Government Center for Strategic Studies, Warsaw, July 2001.
Warren Kuhler, resident tax advisor, Sofia, June 2003.
Jan Kulczyk, president, Kulczyk Holding, Warsaw, August 2001.
Younal Loutfi, deputy chairman, Movement for Rights and Freedoms, and MP, National Assembly of Bulgaria, Sofia, June 2004.
Elzbieta Lutow, tax specialist, Polish Craft Association, Warsaw, June 2000.
Scott McLeod, resident tax advisor, Ministry of Finance, Bucharest, June 2003.
Ligia Medrea, director general, Natural Gas Regulatory Authority, Bucharest, June 2003.
Dan Mihalache, executive secretary, Social Democratic Party of Romania, Bucharest, July 2004.
Georgi Milkov, *24 Chasa (24 Hours)* newspaper, Sofia, June 2004.
Plamen Minchev, president, BBB Group, Sofia, June 2003.
Nikolay Minkov, Bulgarian International Business Association, Sofia, June 2003.
Jeremi Mordasiewicz, Business Center Club, Warsaw, May 2000.
Florin Negrutiu, senior reporter, *Banii Nostri*, Bucharest, June 2004.
Vera Nicheva, legal counsel, Bulgarian Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Sofia, June 2003.
Ioan Niculae, president, InterAgro, Bucharest, June 2004.
Kazimierz Nowak, director, Investment Division, Polish Oil and Gas Company, Warsaw, July 2001.
Konstantin Palikarsky, legal advisor to the prime minister, Sofia, June 2003.
Dinu Patriciu, CEO, Rompetrol Group, Bucharest, June 2004.
Enrico Perini, director, Romstal, Bucharest, June 2004.
Ion Pop, director, Research and Strategy Department, Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Bucharest, May 2003.
Marian Popa, president, Transparency International Romania, and founding member of the Businessmen's Association of Romania, Bucharest, May 2003.
Boyko Radaev, MP, Social Democratic Movement, Sofia, June 2003.
Marin Roumenov, expert, JSC Gazprom and JSC Topenergy, Sofia, June 2003.
Andrzej Sadowski, Adam Smith Center, Warsaw, February 2001.
Joseph Seroussi, CEO, J&R Enterprises, Bucharest, June 2004.

- Ognian Shentov, chairman, Center for the Study of Democracy, Sofia, June 2003.
- Tsvetan Simeonov, vice-president and CEO, Bulgarian Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Sofia, June 2003.
- Margarit Slevoaca, councillor, Ministry of Industry and Resources, Bucharest, June 2003.
- Anna Smolka, Confederation of Polish Employers, Warsaw, June 2000.
- Pawel Soroka, Polish industrial lobby, Warsaw, September 2000.
- Mikolaj Stasiak, deputy director, Office for Competition and Consumer Protection, Warsaw, July 2001.
- Jan Stefanowicz, attorney, Warsaw, November 2000.
- Krystyna Szajdakowska, director, Department of Administration and European Integration, Warsaw, July 2001.
- Anna Szczesniak, Institute for the Study of Democracy and Entrepreneurship, Warsaw, February 2001.
- Kiril Tekeliev, head of cigarette manufacturing, Bulgartabac Holding Group, Sofia, June 2003.
- Petar Terziyski, economic analyst, Bulgarian Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Sofia, June 2003.
- Emil Tsenkov, Center for the Study of Democracy, Sofia, June 2003.
- Stefan Varfalvi, General Union of Romanian Industrialists, Bucharest, May 2003.
- Valeriu Velciu, president, Unicapital Holding, Bucharest, June 2003.
- Valentin Vidolov, deputy general tax director, Ministry of Finance, Sofia, June 2003.
- Sevdalina Voynova, deputy director, National Democratic Institute, Sofia, June 2003.
- Jan Waga, chairman of the board, Kulczyk Holding, Warsaw, August 2001.
- Wlodzimierz Wesolowski, Institute of Philosophy and Sociology, Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw, June 2000.
- Sylwia Wilkos, assistant to Henry Wujec, MP (Unia Wolnosci), Warsaw, May 2001.
- Pawel Witkowski, director of chemical industry oversight, Ministry of the Treasury, Warsaw, February 2001.
- Edmund Wnuk-Lipinski, Institute of Political Studies, Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw, June 2000.
- Rick Woodward, Centrum Analiz Społeczno-Ekonomicznych, Warsaw, May 2000.
- Damian Zaczek, editor-in-chief, *Decydent & Decision Maker*, lobbying trade magazine, Warsaw, September 2000.
- Marek Ziolkowski, Institute of Philosophy and Sociology, Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw, June 2000.
- Elzbieta Znosko-Lapczynska, director general, Polish Craft Association, Warsaw, June 2000.